DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 133 402 UD 016 659

AUTHOR Mercer, Jane R.
TITLE Adolescent Prejudice: A Commentary.
PUB DATE 16 Jan 76
NOTE 43p.; Paper Prepared for the National Invitational Conference on Adolescent Prejudice and its Implications in the Schools (Berkeley, Calif., January 15-16, 1976)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Academic Achievement; *Adolescents; Anti Semitism; *Discriminatory Attitudes (Social); Elementary Schools; Ethnic Status; Ethnic Stereotypes; High School Students; Integration Effects; *Intergroup Relations; Racial Discrimination; Religious Discrimination; Research Problems; *School Integration; *Student Attitudes

ABSTRACT

"Adolescent Prejudice" by Glock, Wuthnow, Piliavin, and Spencer was the central focus for the conference at which this paper was presented. The first objective of this paper was to discuss the implications of that research paper for the social systems characteristics of schools. It was observed that to a considerable extent adolescents form ethnic stereotypes in response to certain educational processes to which they are subjected. These processes operate so as to allocate better or worse educational outcomes to different students on the basis of their ethnicity. The second objective of this paper was to focus specifically upon the ways in which these educational processes might be changed in desegregated schools to reduce ethnic prejudice. These processes are of two types. The first type, Status Ranking processes, tend both to separate the students into distinct groups according to ethnicity and to produce better academic outcomes for one group--the Anglo-Americans--at the expense of the others-- e.g. Blacks, Mexican-Americans, etc. The second type of processes, Status Equalization processes, tend to integrate the students into a single group, regardless of ethnicity and to produce good educational outcomes for all students. (JM)

****
* Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished *
* materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort *
* to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal *
* reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality *
* of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available *
* via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not *
* responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions *
* supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original. *
****

204CC107

Adolescent Prejudice: A Commentary

by

Jane R. Mercer
Professor of Sociology
University of California,
Riverside

Prepared for the

National Invitational Conference on Adolescent Prejudice
and Its Implications in the Schools

Co-Sponsored by
the
Anti-Defamation League
and
School of Education
University of California, Berkeley

January 15-16, 1976

Berkeley, California

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

ED 016659

The central focus of this conference is the research monograph entitled Adolescent Prejudice co-authored by Charles Y. Glock, Robert Wuthnow, Jane Allyn Piliavin, and Metta Spencer which was published in cooperation with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. I have been asked to write a paper commenting on the implications of the findings of this research effort for schools as social systems and to focus specifically upon the ways in which the educational processes operating in desegregated schools might be modified to reduce the amount of interethnic prejudice.

After reading the the research monograph and various reports of the "findings" of that research, I feel it is necessary to focus not only on the assigned topic but on certain crucial aspects of the original research effort around which this conference has been organized. Therefore, the first half of this commentary will dwell on specific problems in the study of prejudice which are exemplified in the monograph and the difficulties which these problems present in interpreting the findings from the study. The second half of the commentary will elaborate a series of hypotheses about educational processes which, in my opinion, offer a fruitful approach to the improvement of interethnic relations in desegregated schools serving multiethnic populations.

The UC Clipsheet is a weekly newspaper published by the University of California. The November 25, 1975 edition contains a long article reviewing Adolescent Prejudice. The headlines read, "Study Finds Bigotry Rampant Among Teenagers." The article proceeds to report that, "The hope that the next generation will be freed of racial and religious bigotry has been shattered by a University of California study that finds prejudice 'rampant' among young people." The article continues in a later

paragraph, "In addition to teenage prejudice against blacks, the study found an unexpectedly large hostility toward Jews" and a "virulent but especially neglected class prejudice."

In the University Bulletin, distributed to the faculty and staff of the University of California, a parallel headline in the December 15, 1975 edition reads, "UC Study Shatter Assumption About the Possibilities of Overcoming Prejudice." The first article in the December 8, 1975 edition of Behavior Today, which reviews Adolescent Prejudice, begins with the following lead sentence, "Anti-Semitism is not just alive and flourishing in the halls of the United Nations: it is rampant among adolescents in our schools."

Having just read Adolescent Prejudice, I was stunned by the sensational, doomsday tone of these reviews and returned for a closer look at the research on which these dour headlines were based. Certainly no issue in our national life is more critical nor more sensitive at the present moment in our history than the question of interethnic relations and the possibility of maintaining a viable pluralistic society. Certainly there has been no time in our history when it has been more essential that issues relating to interethnic comity be treated objectively and dispassionately by social scientists to whom many persons look for information on these important matters. Thus, I feel that it is necessary to look very carefully at the concepts, the measures, and the research operations used in the study of Adolescent Prejudice. There are several problems with the research procedures and with the interpretations made by the authors which, in my opinion, throw considerable doubt on their conclusions.

The Definition of Key Concepts

Although the two terms "stereotype" and "prejudice" are key concepts in the analysis and interpretation of findings in Adolescent Prejudice, at no point in the discussion do the authors clearly define the meaning of those concepts as they will be used in the study. Without conceptual clarification, it is difficult to determine the extent to which the scales and procedures used to measure the concepts in the study are isomorphic to the abstract definition of the concept. If crucial elements of the concept are not incorporated in the measurement operations, then the results of the investigation are difficult to interpret. Thus, I will begin by presenting definitions of the two concepts which are in common usage.

The concept "stereotype" was first introduced by Walter Lippman(1922)in a classic analysis in which he referred to stereotypes as "Pictures in our heads" which are often, but not always, based on inadequate knowledge and overgeneralized ideas. They provide the basis for our behavior in relation to others who are members of particular groups. Vinacke (1957) has defined stereotypes as the "tendency to attribute generalized and simplified characteristics to groups of people in the form of labels." Categorizing and labeling types of experiences and/or objects is essential to all human thought. Without stereotypes, we would find it necessary to interpret each new situation as if we had never met anything of the kind before.

Stereotypes may be favorable or unfavorable. Any stereotyped concept is bound to be wrong, in detail or in total, when applied to any given individual member of a group but not all stereotypes reveal misinformation. Some stereotypes consist of the actual characteristics of the group described. At times stereotypes are the produce of contact with a group and knowledge of their characteristics and at other times they

are a product of hearsay and cultural tradition (Vinacke, 1957). Webster (1964) defines a stereotype as "an unvarying form or mental pattern." Clearly, adequate measurement of stereotyping is a very complex task. The investigator must establish the content of the stereotype i.e. the characteristics which comprise the mental pattern and the relative salience of various characteristics in that pattern. The investigator must then establish the extent to which the overall pattern is favorable or unfavorable. And finally, the investigator must determine the extent to which the stereotype is based on knowledge born of contact or is based on hearsay and cultural tradition. Presumably, such an analysis would help to determine the extent to which the stereotype is based on misinformation.

The concept of "prejudice" is closely related to that of stereotyping. Prejudice is "a judgement or opinion formed before the facts are known; a preconceived idea, favorable or, more usually, unfavorable; a judgement or opinion held in disregard of the facts that contradict it; an unreasonable bias (Webster, 1964, p. 1430)." Thus, to establish the presence of prejudice the investigator must first determine the content of the judgement or opinion. Second, the investigator must ascertain the extent to which that judgement is favorable or unfavorable. Third, the investigator must determine whether that judgement was formed before the facts were known or is held in disregard of facts that contradict it. In short, it is essential that the investigator establish the extent to which there may be a reality base for the belief. The mere presence of negative perceptions of a group is not sufficient to establish the presence of prejudice. Although this issue is addressed by the authors in Chapter 4 of the monograph, they do not take it into account in constructing, analyzing, or interpreting their measure of stereotyping nor their measure of prejudice, the Anti-Semitism scale.

Adolescent Stereotyping

We turn now to an analysis of adolescent stereotyping using data from the monograph. The measure of stereotyping used in the research differs significantly from those used in the classic series of studies on ethnic stereotyping begun by Katz and Braly in 1933. In the present study, students were presented with a series of forced choice situations in which each respondent was required to either agree or disagree with twenty statements about "Jewish teenagers" or "Jews in general". Thirteen of these statements were clearly negative, five were clearly positive, and two were essentially neutral. Thus, the scale is heavily weighted toward the negative and provides little opportunity for the respondent to express positive perceptions. In the Katz and Braly study and later studies which replicated their procedures, (Gilbert, 1951 and Karlins, Coffman, and Walters, 1969) Princeton undergraduates received an alphabetical list of 84 adjectives and were asked to write as many of the words on the list as they felt were needed to characterize each of 10 different ethnic groups: Italians, Negroes, Irish, English, Jews, Americans, Chinese, Japanese, and Turks. There were no forced choices. A student could select as many or as few adjectives as he felt were need to describe a group. They could express neutrality toward a concept by simply omitting it from their list.

The procedure used by Glock et al. does not allow for a neutral category. Thus, a student could not report that he simply didn't know, had insufficient information, or felt that making judgements about the "selfishness", "bossiness", or "friendliness" of an entire group consisting of several million persons was nonsense. In other words, there was no response category for the person who did not wish to stereotype but preferred to restrict judgements about personal attributes to the assessment of individual persons not groups. This problem

is further exacerbated by the types of response categories used in the study. A student had to "disagree strongly,disagree moderately, disagree a little, agree a little, agree moderately, or agree strongly" with each statement. How would a student respond, given these choices, if he knew a few Jewish teenagers who were unfriendly but most were friendly? He would probably "agree a little" with the statement that "Jewish teenagers are unfriendly'. However, if he did so, he would be counted as Anti-Semitic on that question. It would have been preferable if the questions had been phrased so that the response categories would allow for such real life situations and permitted students to report relative proportions i.e. most are unfriendly, a majority are unfriendly, about half are unfriendly, a few are unfriendly, or none are unfriendly. Thus, a student who wished to make an accurate, cognitively sophisticated response would have an opportunity to be precise without being judged to have a negative stereotype. The format of the questions forces persons to stereotype.

There were apparently a number of respondents who refused to be coerced into making global judgements of the kind required by the questionnaire and solved their dilemma by placing mark between the "disagree a little" and the "agree a little" categories. They were sufficient in number to require the addition of a middle category in the scoring scheme. The Appendix for Chapter 2 reports that forms which had a "check mark placed between or on both agree and disagree responses" were given a score of 4, midpoint in the ordinal scale score for each question (Page 183). It would be interesting to know exactly how many respondents used this strategy to avoid stereotyping and how these respondents differed from those who acquiesced to the demands of the questionnaire and made a stereotypic response. One of the findings

by Non-Jewish White, Jewish, and Black Teenagers in Two Communities

	Commuter Town						Oceanville					
	Non-Jewish White		Jewish		Black		Non-Jewish White		Jewish		Black	
	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank	%
Intelligent	1	77	1	91	1	77	1	82	1	95	3	68
School Spirit	2	76	2	83	2.5	76	2	79	2	84	1	75
Ambitious	3	74	3	74	2.5	76	3	69	3	77	2	72
Powerful	4.5	70	7.5	23	4.5	59	8.5	55	11	12	6	50
Conceited	4.5	70	9	21	6.5	53	4.5	61	8.5	14	9	47
Vain	6	66	13.5	12	11	36	7	58	15	6	11.5	45
Selfish	7	60	10.5	17	4.5	59	8.5	55	7	16	11.5	45
Sly	8	58	7.5	23	6.5	53	6	60	10	13	10	46
Bossy	9	52	6	24	15	32	10	48	6	21	7	49
Unfriendly	10	50	13.5	12	13.5	34	13	39	17.5	4	14	34
Gaudy	11	49	12	16	12	35	14	38	12.5	8	15.5	25
Immoral	12	48	16	9	10	44	16	33	14	7	13	39
Different	13	43	10.5	17	9	49	12	43	8.5	14	5	51
Pushy	14	42	15	10	17	26	11	44	12.5	8	15.5	25
Religious	15	40	5	49	8	51	4.5	61	5	58	4	59
Athletic	16	33	4	70	13.5	34	15	36	4	68	8	49
Troublemakers	17.5	25	17	4	16	29	20	13	20	1	19.5	16
Untrustworthy	17.5	25	19	2	19	21	17	25	17.5	4	19.5	16
Quitter	19	17	20	1	20	14	19	15	19	2	18	17
Sloppy	20	16	18	3	18	24	18	16	16	5	17	21

Non-Jewish vs Jewish	r_s	.703	$p \leq .001$	.784	$p \leq .001$
Jewish vs Black	r_s	.788	$p \leq .001$	.901	$p \leq .001$
Black vs Non-Jewish	r_s	.864	$p \leq .001$	.830	$p \leq .001$

from the series of studies of stereotyping conducted on Princeton undergraduates alluded to earlier has been a distinct increase in resistance on the part of students to making generalizations about people whom they scarecely know. Katz and Braly found no resistance of this kind in their first study in 1933. Apparently some high school students by 1963, when the data for the Glock study were collected were attempting to express their discomfort with being forced to stereotype.

The Glock measure of stereotyping treats each of the 20 responses as a separate stereotype rather than focusing on the patterning of the responses, a procedure which would more accurately reflect the perceptual field of the adolescents studied and more adequately represent the definition of a stereotype as a mental pattern. An adequate measurement of stereotyping would require the investigator to ascertain the relative salience of various characteristics in the mental patterns of adolescents; the extent to which the overall pattern is favorable or unfavorable; and the extent to which the stereotype is based on knowledge rather than hearsay or cultural tradition. The tables in the text do not provide sufficient information to answer all these questions but it is possible to arrive at some approximations.

Insert Table 1 About Here

Table 1 presents a summary of the attributes perceived in Jewish teenagers by Non-Jewish, Jewish, and Black teenagers in the two communities with sufficient numbers of Jewish students to permit analysis. Data in this table were abstracted from Tables 3, 6, and 63 in the monograph. The percentage of students "agreeing" with each statement is reported from the text and the rank order of the level of agreement has been determined on the basis of those percentages. A pattern analysis of the configuration of responses for each individual student would be the optimal fashion

for investigating the content of the stereotypes of adolescents. Since we do not have that type of analysis, we can only infer the relative salience of various characteristics in the mental patterns which adolescents have of Jews by the rank ordering of the characteristics.

In a list of 20 descriptors, only five of which were positive, the Non-Jewish and Black students have ranked Jewish teenagers highest on three of the five positive characteristics: intelligence, school spirit, and ambition. These are the most salient characteristics and they are all positive. Given the negative bias of the list presented to the students, it is difficult to perceive how Non-Jewish and Black students could accord a more unequivocably positive ranking to Jewish teenagers. Yet, the authors of the study scarcely acknowledge these positive perceptions. Indeed, they minimize their salience by describing them as "apparently positive attributes" and choose to concentrate their attention on the extent to which Non-Jewish teenagers acquiesced in a forced choice situation to agreeing with the other predominantly negative adjectives on the list.

Looked at objectively, the findings from the Glock study more nearly approximate the conclusions reached in the analysis of trends in ethnic stereotyping among Princeton college students. Karlins, Coffman, and Walters (1969) report a greatly improved image of Jews when 1933 and 1967 data were compared. They also report significant convergence in the extent to which the core of the Jewish stereotype matches the core of the American stereotype. Four of the five traits ranked highest for each group were identical in 1967: ambitious, materialistic, intelligent, and industriousness. Note that the two adjectives which were similar to those in the Glock study, ambitious and intelligent, were also among the first five traits as ranked by Non-Jewish and Black teenagers. There was a tendency for Princeton students to present a more favorable stereotype

of Americans than of other groups in 1933 and 1951. However, in 1967 students rated the Japanese, Germans, Jews, and English more favorably than Americans. We do not know how the adolescents in Glocks' study would have rated Americans relative to their rating of Jews. Without this type of data to provide some anchor, it is difficult to determine whether the students would have rated their own group as highly on the descriptors as they rated the Jews. Given the very high percentages agreeing with the positive adjectives, it would be difficult to surpass that mark.

It is difficult to determine the extent to which a stereotypic pattern is based on knowledge rather than hearsay. This is particularly difficult when dealing with subjective judgements of characteristics such as "conceited", "selfish", or "vain" which require making inferences about the psychic state of the individual or group being judged. There is no empirical basis for ascertaining the correctness of the judgement. Most interpersonal assessments, however, are of this type. Thus, in ordinary life situations, we depend to a large extent upon consensual validation to determine the accuracy of our perceptions. Since it is impossible to determine the real conceit, vanity, or selfishness of an individual, we validate our judgements by comparing them with the judgements of others. Since the authors asked Jewish as well as Non-Jewish and Black students to respond to the questions about Jews, the study provides us with the opportunity of triangulating the consensual validation process by comparing the perceptions of three groups of adolescents: Non-Jewish, Jewish, and Black. Table 1 reveals that even in this simple analysis, there is remarkable similarity over all three groups in both communities.

-o-

The Spearman rank order correlations between Jewish and Non-Jewish students in the two communities were .703 and .784. Correlations between Jewish and Black students were even higher, .788 and .901. Correlations between Black and Non-Jewish rankings were .864 and .830. All are statistically significant beyond the .001 level of significance. They indicate that between 50% and 80% of the variance in the rank ordering of one group can be accounted for by the rank ordering of another group. There is high consensual validation of the rank ordering of the characteristics for Jewish Teenagers when the three groups of students are compared.

We turn now to the final issue in stereotyping, the extent to which a stereotype is based on knowledge rather than hearsay or cultural tradition. The Glock study provides a unique opportunity to contrast stereotypes based on cultural tradition with those which are more experientially based. Central City high school has fewer than 1% Jewish students while Commuter Town and Oceanville have 43% and 23%, respectively. Comparison of the responses from Central City with those from the other two high schools reveals one of the most interesting findings of the entire study. Students in Central City presumably have had little opportunity to gain first hand knowledge about Jewish teenagers. For this reason, we assume that their responses will more nearly reflect the stereotype of Jews based on cultural tradition and hearsay. They rate Jewish teenagers significantly more positively than students in the other two high schools whose ratings, presumably, are more reality based on first hand knowledge about Jewish Teenagers resulting from contact in the high school. Central City Non-Jewish students rate Jewish teenagers highest on <u>all five</u> of the five positive characteristics presented to them. The stereotype based on hearsay appears to be more favorable than the one based on knowledge. It would appear that the tradi-

stereotypes are fading rapidly among today's adolescents and that the hearsay information they are receiving is more positive than would have been anticipated.

Conclusions Looking at the data from a different perspective, my conclusions about adolescent stereotyping differ considerably from those presented by the authors. It seems to me that their data, in spite of the negative bias in the questions and the difficulties with the response categories which were used, does not present a picture of "rampant bigotry". On the contrary, the content of the stereotype for Jewish teenager held by Non-Jewish students shows that the most salient characteristics are positive: intelligence, school spirit, and ambition. Thus, the weight of the overall pattern is favorable, in spite of the fact that there were only five favorable descriptors in a list of 20. Students whose stereotypes are presumably based primarily on hearsay and cultural tradition have the most favorable stereotypes, indicating that the ancient stereotypes must be fading. This finding corresponds with findings from other studies. While it is impossible to determine the extent to which a stereotype is based on misinformation, we found very high correlations between the mental patterns which Jewish students had of themselves and mental patterns which Non-Jewish and Black students had of Jewish students. We concluded that there is a high level of agreement on the positive pattern identified in the study because the favorable stereotype was consensually validated and probably does not represent misinformation or bias on the part of one group.

Adolescent Prejudice

The definition of prejudice includes the notion that a prejudice may be either favorable or unfavorable. It is a judgement formed before

the facts are known or a judgement held in disregard of the facts. Given this definition of prejudice, it is immediately clear that there are serious problems with the measurement of prejudice in social science research and that these problems are evident in the Glock study.

The measure of prejudice on which the Glock study bases most of its conclusions is the so-called Anti-Semitism scale. This scale is based on responses to eight negative descriptors selected because they were worded in identical fashion for both the questionnaire asking about "Jewish Teenagers" and that asking about "Jews in general." Note that to score positively on this scale i.e. have a low score in Anti-Semitism, an adolescent would have to <u>disagree</u> with at least five of the eight statements because the scale score is the average rating for the eight items i.e. Jews are selfish, unfriendly, loud and flashy, conceited, pushy, immoral, vain, and troublemakers.

These eight items were selected after a factor analysis of the twenty items in the original list. Unfortunately, the total factor analysis is not presented in the appendix, only the factor analysis of the eight items finally included in the scale. I surmise that the five positive descriptors which were omitted from the scale did not load in any systematic way with the negative descriptors. If this is the case, it would indicate that many students who were agreeing with negative descriptors were also agreeing with positive descriptors and, hence, were either succumbing to the acquiesence response or were making multi-dimensional judgements which included both positive and negative elements. If so, some type of typology would be needed to more adequately describe the responses and a simple averaging of the scores on the negative descriptors would not accurately reflect the complexity of the response patterns. There are probably at least three types of students: (1) those who are generally negative (agree

with the negative and disagree with the positive descriptors); students who are generally positive (agree with the positive and disagree with the negative descriptors); and students who have mixed perceptions (agree with some but not all negative descriptors and agree with some but not all positive descriptors). The latter group would probably be the most cognitively sophisticated since they would be making the most differentiated responses. The scoring scheme which uses only the eight negative descriptors might adequately describe the first two types of students i.e. the negatives and the positives but would grossly distort the responses of the mixed group. Since only the negative portion of their responses would be scored, they would probably be classified as "anti-semitic" even though they had many positive perceptions of Jewish teenagers.

By ignoring the positive descriptors, the authors align themselves with those earlier studies which focused entirely on derogatory images and defined ethnic stereotyping and prejudice as endorsement of traditional negative stereotypes. This focus precludes the possibility of observing the emergence of more positive images because "positive" becomes simply the absence of negative images. I would argue that this is a very narrow base for the study of prejudice. Obviously, there is no group in which all members exemplify all the favorable attributes and no members exhibit any negative attributes. The larger the knowledge base on which the responses rest, the more likely that there will be a mixture of the positive and negative--the very group which has been probably scored as anti-semitic in the present study. It is inevitable that a scale which is designed to measure only negative perceptions and gives no weight to favorable perceptions is going to produce an over-simplified and rather gloomy picture of the adolescent mind.

This negative bias is further accentuated by the method used to score

the anti-semitism items. Persons with an average score of 4 or more on the eight items were classifed as anti-semitic. Those students who marked between the "agree" and the "disagree" response categories are coded as a "4". Hence, those students who were struggling to respond in a neutral or non-judgemental way to a questionnaire which was forcing them to be either positive or negative are given a score which places them on the anti-semitic side of the scale! If a student marked all eight items in this fashion, he/she would end up with an average score of "4" and be classified as anti-semitic!

The Glock study equates prejudice with negative image and non-prejudice with a non-negative image. However, the definition of prejudice goes well beyond ascertaining the positive or negative images of the respondent. It involves measuring the extent to which those judgements were made before the facts were known or held in disregard of the facts. Thus, prejudice can be determined only in relation to some empirical referent, some factual situation. The problem of disentangling fact from fantasy is, of course, the most troublesome methodological problem in the study of prejudice. Yet, it is a problem to which social scientists must address themselves if they are to add to the store of knowledge rather than perpetuate myths about group prejudices.

The most outstanding contribution of the Glock monograph appears in Chapter 4 when the authors wrestle with the problem of trying to determine the extent to which the "clannishness" of Jewish teenagers which was perceived by Non-Jewish students was the result of "anti-semitism" rather than the result of the actual in-group preferences which were clearly expressed by the Jewish students themselves. The authors conclude that there was evidence that the perception of clannishness had some basis in fact. However, they did not, after reaching this conclusion, remove the

item from the list of negative i.e. anti-semitic "stereotypes".

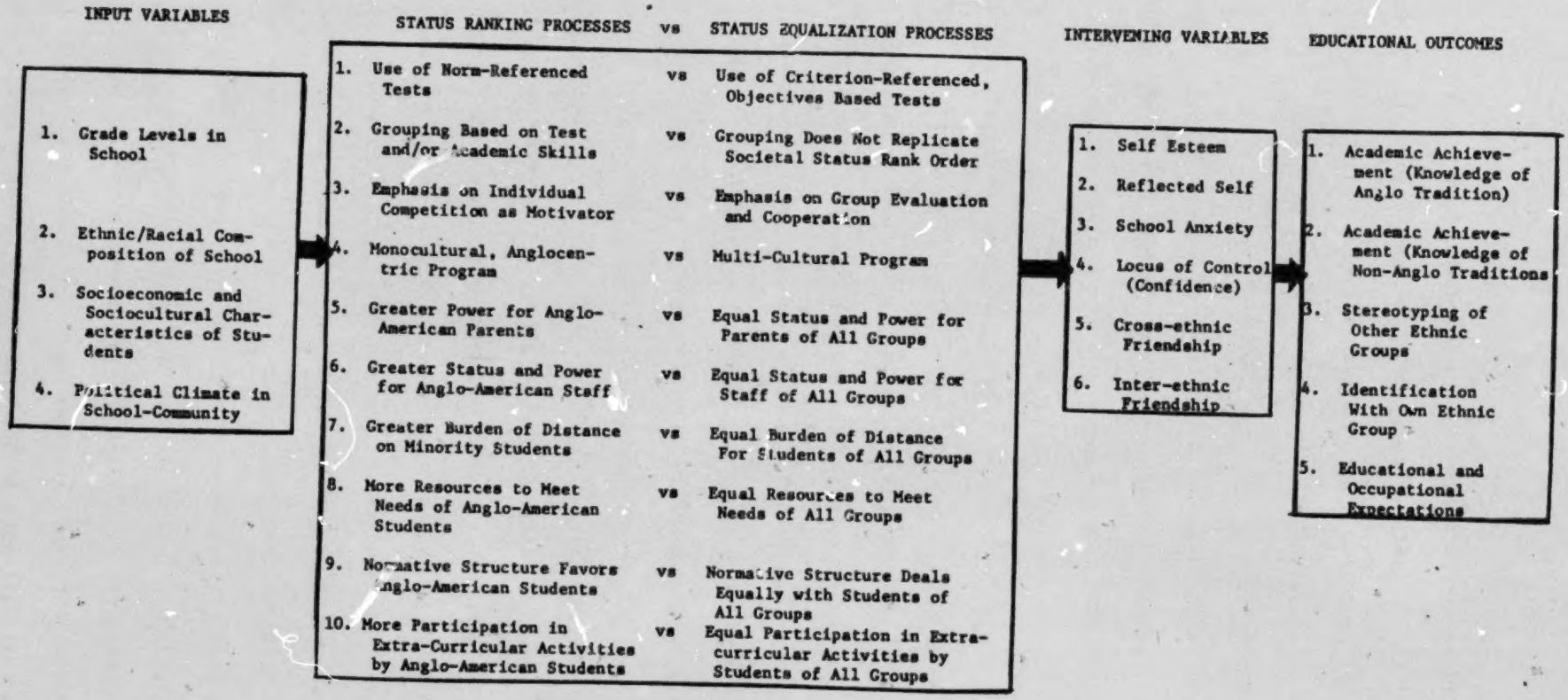
Unless we can differentiate between a situation in which the respondent is simply reporting a negative fact from a situation in which the respondent is reporting a negative image held in disregard of facts which contradict it, we cannot make much progress in the study of prejudice. Given the subjective nature of the descriptors used in the Glock study and the impossibility of ascertaining the extent to which Non-Jewish responses reflect the actual behavior of Jewish-teenagers as opposed to fantasied behavior, it is difficult to come to any firm conclusions about the extent of adolescent prejudice.

One example will suffice to emphasize the importance of this issue. During 1973, we collected data from third and sixth grade students and their teachers in approximately 200 desegregated elementary schools on the West Coast. Teachers were asked to rate each student in their class on 18 semantic differential ratings. When factor analyzed, these ratings produced three stabile factors, one of which was a rating of "competence". We noted that in every school in our sample teachers were rating both Black and Mexican-American children as significantly less competent than Anglo-American children. The differences were so striking that they always excited comment whenever we presented our findings to educators or the general public. The immediate reaction of most persons upon seeing the charts was to leap to the conclusion that teachers are "prejudiced" against minority children since they were rating them most negatively. In other words, they were equating prejudice with negative rating. We tended to agree with this hypothesis but decided to investigate the issue directly because we felt uneasy with this simplistic explanation.

We used regression analysis to determine the extent to which the teacher ratings reflected actual differences in the performance of majority

Table 2

Schema Depicting Status Ranking and Status Equalization Processes Hypothesized to be Correlated with Quality and Equity in Educational Outcomes in Desegregated Schools


INPUT VARIABLES
1. Grade Levels in School
2. Ethnic/Racial Composition of School
3. Socioeconomic and Sociocultural Characteristics of Students
4. Political Climate in School-Community
STATUS RANKING PROCESSES vs STATUS EQUALIZATION PROCESSES
1. Use of Norm-Referenced Tests vs Use of Criterion-Referenced, Objectives Based Tests
2. Grouping Based on Test and/or Academic Skills vs Grouping Does Not Replicate Societal Status Rank Order
3. Emphasis on Individual Competition as Motivator vs Emphasis on Group Evaluation and Cooperation
4. Monocultural, Anglocentric Program vs Multi-Cultural Program
5. Greater Power for Anglo-American Parents vs Equal Status and Power for Parents of All Groups
6. Greater Status and Power for Anglo-American Staff vs Equal Status and Power for Staff of All Groups
7. Greater Burden of Distance on Minority Students vs Equal Burden of Distance For Students of All Groups
8. More Resources to Meet Needs of Anglo-American Students vs Equal Resources to Meet Needs of All Groups
9. Normative Structure Favors Anglo-American Students vs Normative Structure Deals Equally with Students of All Groups
10. More Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities by Anglo-American Students vs Equal Participation in Extra-curricular Activities by Students of All Groups
INTERVENING VARIABLES
1. Self Esteem
2. Reflected Self
3. School Anxiety
4. Locus of Control (Confidence)
5. Cross-ethnic Friendship
6. Inter-ethnic Friendship
EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES
1. Academic Achievement (Knowledge of Anglo Tradition)
2. Academic Achievement (Knowledge of Non-Anglo Traditions
3. Stereotyping of Other Ethnic Groups
4. Identification With Own Ethnic Group
5. Educational and Occupational Expectations

as compared to minority students rather than judgements made in disregard of the facts. For this purpose, we assumed that teachers would not be "prejudiced" in rating Anglo-American children. Therefore, we could use a regression equation based on teacher ratings of Anglo-American children as an unbiased equation. We used the achievement test scores for the Anglo-American students as an empirical measure of their competence in the scholastic role and employed it as the independent variable or predictor. We correlated achievement scores with the teacher rating of competence as the dependent variable. Then we inserted the achievement test scores for minority children into the regression equation developed on the Anglo-American sample and predicted the rating of competence which an Anglo child would receive if he/she had a comparable level of scholastic achievement. Next we compared the actual rating given the minority child by the teacher with the rating the minority child would have been predicted to receive if he/she had been an Anglo student. We found that we had made some pre-judgements about teachers before the facts were known which proved to be false. Most teacher ratings of minority children's competence were approximately identical to the ratings the child would have been given if he/she had been an Anglo-American child. When there were differences of any magnitude, the ratings for minority children, especially Blacks, tended to be higher than the ratings which teachers would have given majority children who had similar academic achievement test scores. We had to adjust our pre-judgements in view of the findings. So far as we could ascertain, the teacher ratings, although uniformly negative, accurately reflected the reality of the differences in academic achievement at least as measured by achievement test scores.

Conclusion In the light of the above discussion, the findings concerning the prevalence of adolescent prejudice reported by Glock are difficult to interpret. The anti-semitism scale is probably a great over-simplification of the actual attitudes of the adolescents in the study. It focuses entirely

on negative images. It does not allow for the fact that perceptions may be favorable, unfavorable, or some mixture of favorable and unfavorable. It does not take into account the fact that many of the students who scored high on the negative scale probably also scored high on the positive descriptors. Thus, it equates prejudice with negative and does not allow for any assessment of the possibility that some of the descriptors may be based, at least in part, on the actual observed behavior of the Jewish students as experienced by Non-Jewish students. Unless we can separate opinions held in spite of the facts from opinions held with due regard for the facts, we cannot talk in any meaningful way about "prejudice". Attention to this problem is long overdue in the study of "prejudice."

An Equal Status Model for Conceptualizing Educational Processes in Desegregated Elementary Schools

The psychologistic approach to the study of interethnic relations depends heavily upon such intra-psychic concepts as stereotyping and prejudice. The operationalization of such concepts presents so many methodological and conceptual difficulties that alternative, more sociologistic models are needed if we are to move toward further understanding of intergroup relations. Consequently, we are proposing a conceptual model for the study of schools which focuses on ten educational processes in multiethnic schools which we hypothesize are related to producing positive intergroup relations and educational outcomes. Table 2 presents the ten status ranking processes which, on the basis of our own and other's research, we hypothesize account for a significant amount of the inequality in educational outcomes for children of different racial/ethnic origin. We theorize that these crucial processes are endemic in public education and vary relatively little from school to school. Consequently, there will be little

Insert Table 2 About Here

variance between schools in the operation of these processes.

Our over-all hypothesis is that these ten status ranking processes are the institutional mechanisms by which the rank order of status in the larger society is replicated within each public school. They are responsible, in part, for the inequalities in educational outcomes which perpetuate the inferior social status of persons of different racial/ethnic heritage from generation to generation. We hypothesize that these processes are additive and those schools having the most negative mental health and educational outcomes will have more of these processes operating at a higher level of intensity than schools having more positive mental health and educational outcomes. On the other hand, we hypothesize that the schools with positive outcomes will be characterized by status equalization processes. Thus, the basic theoretical framework is a status equalization model which borrows heavily from the work of Allport (1954), Cohen and Roper (1972), Cohen (1972, 1973), Katz and Cohen (1962), Lohman (1972), and Berger, Cohen, and Zelditch (1972).

Allport (1954) concluded that prejudice could be "reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional support (i.e. by law, custom, or local atmosphere), and if it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups." (Allport, 1954, page 267.) "Contact in a hierarchical social system, or between people who equally lack status (poor whites and poor Negroes), or contacts between individuals who perceive one another as threats, are

harmful rather than helpful... To be maximally effective, contact and acquaintance programs should lead to a sense of equality in social status, should occur in ordinary purposeful pursuits, avoid artificiality, and if possible enjoy the sanction of the community in which they occur... While it may help somewhat to place members of different ethnic groups side by side on a job, the gain is greater if these members regard themselves as part of a team... Once again we see how important it is to abolish segregation before optimum conditions of contact and acquaintance can occur" (Allport, page 453-454).

From Allport's work we draw the following premises concerning interethnic relations in the public schools.

(1) Desegregation is a pre-requisite to contact and acquaintance.

(2) Equal status contact among students, staff, and parents of various racial/ethnic groups in multiethnic schools will reduce prejudice.

(3) Equal status contact in multiethnic schools will be enhanced when (a) equal status contact is sanctioned by explicit school policy (b) when students, staff, and parents of various racial/ethnic groups work together as members of teams in the ordinary, purposeful pursuits of the school, (c) the school program emphasizes the common interests and common humanity of persons of all racial/ethnic groups i.e. multicultural programs.

More recent empirical and theoretical work indicates that achieving equal status contacts among persons of different racial/ethnic origins is complicated by factors not forseen in Allport's earlier model. Katz found that in biracial work groups matched on measured intelligence, Blacks displayed marked social inhibition and subordination to white partners, making fewer proposals, accepting contributions of white's

uncritically, and talking more to whites than to other Blacks. (Katz et al, 1958). Similar findings were reported in over a dozen other investigations between 1950 and 1960 (Berger et al, 1972). Cohen and Lohman (1970) report that Black and white public school children display similar responses in expectations concerning competence when playing a game with a biracial group. White students had higher initiation rates and were more influential than Blacks.

This diverse literature on status organizing processes in small groups has been generalized and developed into a single theoretical framework by Berger, Cohen and Zelditch (1972). A central concept in this theory is that there are "diffuse status characteristics" defined by the following features: (1) various states of that characteristic are differentially valued in society, (2) these various states are associated with a set of specific abilities which are perceived as related to that state, (3) each state also arouses general expectations for relative competence or incompetence at socially valued tasks. Race, age, and sex are examples of diffuse status characteristics because they fulfill this definition. They are differentially valued in society. They are associated with a set of specific abilities perceived as related to that characteristic e.g. Blacks are perceived as athletic; women are perceived as emotional. These characteristics arouse general expectations for relative competence e.g. Blacks will be competent at baseball; women will be too emotional for high level executive positions, etc.

The theory then specifies those conditions under which a diffuse status characteristic will be activated so as to organize the social interaction in the performance of a new task: (1) when the task is valued and individuals are task-focused and collectively oriented.

(2) when the individual is perceived as a person having the status characteristic and the attributes associated with that status characteristic; (3) when the group task has outcomes seen as success or failure and individuals are motivated to succeed; and (4) when the task is a collective one in which it is both legitimate and necessary to take others' behavior into account. Under these conditions, there will be a general expectation for superior competence on the part of the high status group member which will be held by both low and high status subjects if there is no other social basis of discrimination and there has been no previous explicit dissociation from the general expectation.

The general expectation based on the diffuse status characteristic of race is that whites have superior competence. This expectation sets up an interaction chain in which the white expects the minority person to participate at a lower level in quality and quantity and the minority person accepts the white evaluation of less competence and fulfills the expectation of inferiority by a lower level of participation, deference to white suggestions, etc. This cycle of rank order status differentiation forms the basis for unequal status relationships between white and minority persons in any situation in which it is activated. The process results in what Cohen (1972) has termed "interracial interaction disability."

Experimental work by Freese and Cohen (1972) suggests that special training of Black students on at least two skills which imply each other was necessary to prevent activation of the diffuse status characteristic of race in a biracial game of "Kill the Bull". Cohen (1973) reports a series of experiments using "expectation training" with Black and white public school children in which the Black students were trained to assemble

a transistor radio and to teach the white student how to do so. She found that the expectations of both groups, Blacks and whites, must be modified if the diffuse status characteristic of race is to remain unactivated and that there need not be a negative side effect of white hostility if the task is a cooperative one.

The intervention experimentation was then tried in an experimental summer school which lasted for four weeks and enrolled Black and white students. By eliminating grades and teacher evaluations of individual performance and replacing them with evaluations of the collective performance of small groups, the experimentors attempted to change two basic features of the conventional schoolroom: (1) the development of the perception of a single rank order of status based on academic ability and (2) the competitive system of individual accountability. Cohen theorizes that the single status order based on perceived academic ability creates a General Performance Characteristic which reinforces the diffuse status characteristic of race and "creates two rather than one source of general expectations for incompetence i.e. low social status and low perceived academic ability". In the experiment, 33 Black students were given preliminary training on four new tasks which they later taught to 33 white students. A second experimental group was taught the same four tasks by a young Black teacher in a classroom organized into racially balanced teams of students, teachers, and administrators. The balance of power and authority between races was maintained throughout. The first experiment resulted in Black dominance in the classrooms, in sociometric data, and in data from the game "Kill the Bull". The second experiment, originally conceived as a control condition, resulted in nearly equal status relationships for boys. Results for girls were difficult to interpret because there was a shortage of white girls.

The conclusions from this body of research have important theoretical implications for our model and suggest several of our more important hypotheses concerning the types of educational processes in public schools which are likely to have status equalization effects. Although these experiments were done with Black and white subjects, we hypothesize that the same principles would apply in all majority-minority interactions. The major conclusions are:

(1) Both minority and white expectations for minority performance must be treated to attain equal status interaction in a desegregated group. This principle would apply to educators and parents as well as students. An effective way to modify expectations is through demonstrated competence by minority group members on a task or set of tasks in which they serve as teachers for the majority group.

(2) The commonly used method of attempting to increase the low self esteem of minority persons by success experiences and reinforcement from high status models in isolation from whites is not likely to succeed. "The problem does not lie in the individual. White dominance is seen as a social product of the evaluation of self and other transmitted through cultural beliefs about the competence of Blacks and whites, often reinforced in social interaction... We formed the hypothesis that treating expectations of the low status individual only, will not be effective. One must also treat the expectations for his performance held by the high status member". (Cohen and Roper, 1972, p. 656).

(3) The organization of the classroom may have an impact on modification of expectations. Five elements appear critical: (1) student participation in racially mixed groups, (2) experience of success in these groups and (3) strong, explicit norms for interracial cooperation

(4) elimination of teacher evaluation of individuals and individual competition in favor of teacher evaluation of group products and cooperative learning, (5) presence of adult role models exemplifying a balance of power and authority between races.

After studying video tapes of the earlier Cohen studies, Lohman (1972) observed that Black students had two problems in biracial interaction: verbal skills deficits which meant that Black participants often used short and brief arguments to define their ideas resulting in whites dominating the task by talking longer about their proposed ideas and "experimental inhibition" which resulted in several Black participants rarely speaking during the experimental study, although they were highly verbal when they returned to their local neighborhood. Following Bandura, who found that models, either peers or high status persons, could induce subjects to try new behavior, Lohman developed a procedure in which a Black male college student served as a role model for Black boys attending a desegregated junior high school by teaching them to play the game of "Kill the Bull". He found that Black students who experienced the role model had significantly higher initiation rates and rates of successful influence than those who did not experience the role modeling. The role modeling was particularly effective in the high status, suburban school as compared to a low status, inner city school. White student rates did not vary. From this study we could hypothesize that minority students who have adult role models of their own ethnic group in the multiethnic school will be more prone to respond to biracial interaction with equal status responses.

Katz (1968) reviews and summarizes a body of research having implications for the success of Black students in a desegregated school. He theorizes that his discussion "should be more or less applicable to any

American minority group whose status is similar to that of Negroes (for example, people with Puerto Rican or Mexican backgrounds)" (Katz, 1968, p. 255). He comes to seven major conclusions:

(1) Black experience of white hostility and/or their experience of a desegregated situation in which whites are numerically predominant, control authority positions, and have superior power will increase social threat and Black anxiety resulting in impairment of Black performance because of the distraction caused by internal autonomic stimulation, defensive responses against anxiety, and/or fear of arousing hostility in white competitors.

(2) White teacher and white student friendliness to minority students in desegregated schools will increase minority motivation toward scholastic achievement.

(3) Studies indicate that the strength of motivation is at a maximum when the probability of success is .50, therefore, minority motivation will decline if the academic standards in a desegregated school are substantially higher than those previously encountered and the student is subjected to the threat of failure.

(4) Direct competition with whites arouses a fear of failure and loss of confidence response in minority students which is especially detrimental to their performance on verbal-symbolic and perceptual-motor tasks.

(5) A minority student's vulnerability to stress will be greatest in those schools in which minority students are in a predominantly white environment because the presence of members of the same group has a supportive effect under stress.

(6) The prospect of successful competition against a white peer and approval of a white authority figure has greater incentive strength

for the minority student than the prospect of successful competition against a minority peer and approval of a minority authority figure.

(7) Emotional reactions of minority students to test situations was most stressful when the comparison group is white, the test administrator is white, and the student is told that the test measures "intelligence". The best motivation and performance occurred, regardless of other conditions, when the subject was told he had a slightly better-than-even chance of success.

Theoretical Framework for the Status Equalization Model

The theoretical framework for Table 2 attempts to integrate into a single model some of the concepts and hypotheses discussed in the previous section. On the basis of this material we developed the diagram of the Input-Process-Output Model which is presented in Table 2.

The input variables are those variables which we hypothesize are related to educational outcomes but are not under the direct control of the school nor are they directly influenced by the educational processes occurring in the individual school. They constitute the "givens" with which an individual school must work. Because they are related to educational and mental health outcomes they must be controlled or held constant when analyzing the effects or educational outcomes of the educational processes in a school.

The ten status ranking and status equalization processes were derived from previous research of the author and from the literature. They are processes which we hypothesize operate in most American public schools to perpetuate the lower status of minority group students and they are processes which can be influenced by educational policy. Thus, Table 2 describes the status assignment processes as they have operated

to preserve and replicate from generation to generation the rank order of discrimination which exists in the larger society. We hypothesize that those schools which have abandoned these processes and moved toward the status equalization end of each bi-polar dimension will have more positive mental health and educational outcomes.

(1) Use of Norm-Referenced Tests vs Use of Criterion-Referenced Tests to Measure Attainment of Specific Objectives. When public schools use norm-referenced tests of "intelligence", "aptitude", or "achievement" to assess and label public school students, a disproportionately large number of children of non-Anglo heritage are labeled as subnormal and placed in classes for the mentally retarded (Mercer 1973a). Because norm-referenced tests are constructed to test the child's knowledge of Anglo-American society and do not take the cultural background of the child into account, the labeling process recreates the rank order of status in the larger society by labeling majority children as more competent than minority children. Teachers believe these labels and perceive minority children as less competent. Thus, norm-referenced, standardized tests legitimate the diffuse status characteristics associated with minority groups. They serve the latent functions of preserving the subordinate positions of non-Anglo persons, discrediting the value of non-Anglo cultures, and providing the schools with a mechanism for "cooling out" parents who criticize the schools by convincing them that it is the family and child, not the school, who are responsible for low educational achievement (Mercer, 1973[a], 1973[b], 1972). Katz, (1968) also has documented emotional reactions which interfere with the performance of minority students when they are told that they are taking an "intelligence" test or competing against white norms.

It is our hypothesis that schools with positive educational outcomes will have moved away from norm-referenced tests and will be found to be more involved in objective-based teaching and testing programs than schools with negative educational outcomes. Specifically, we hypothesize that the use of norm-referenced tests, i.e., IQ tests and standard achievement tests, increases minority anxiety levels and decreases minority academic achievement.

(2) Classroom Grouping Based on test performance and/or academic skills produces a direct replication in the school of the differential statuses of ethnic/racial groups in the larger society. Tracking and "homogeneous grouping, when used in the desegregated school, operate to re-segregate students along racial/ethnic lines with minority children being assigned to the "slow" tracks and majority students being assigned to the "accelerated" programs. We have found that the practice of grouping children according to their academic performance is ubiquitus in the traditional schools we have studied. However, there are a sizable number of schools in the western region which have moved away from this practice and are grouping children heterogeneously or are using criteria which do not replicate the racial/ethnic status order of the larger society.

One of Cohen and Roper's (1972) most important findings indicated that organizing students into cooperative teams which were racially mixed was an important factor in eliminating evidence of interracial, interaction disability and equalizing interaction. Roper (1972) found that when students worked on a cooperative task in bi-racial teams there was no more evidence of tension with Black group leaders than with white group leaders, a finding contrary to that reported by Katz(1968) in earlier studies of adults. Roper concluded that the lack of hostility

toward Black leaders by white students was the result of the classroom grouping and structure of the task.

(3) Emphasis on Individual Competition as a Motivator vs Emphasis on Group Evaluation and Cooperation is related to grouping practices. The traditional school relies heavily upon individual evaluation, individual rewards, and competitive relations among students in the classroom to motivate students to perform. Academic grades, honorific statuses and awards, and teacher commendation and approval are ordinarily awarded to individual children who tend to compete for these honors rather than to assist each other in the learning process. Katz (1968) cites an extensive literature which documents the debilitating effect which direct competition, especially with whites, has on the performance of minority persons.

Cohen and Roper (1972) concluded that elimination of teacher evaluation of individuals in favor of group evaluations and encouragement of cooperative learning among students was an important factor in producing equality in bi-racial interaction. Therefore, we are hypothesizing that those schools in which there is heterogeneous grouping, in which students are encouraged to learn cooperatively and individual competition is minimized will have more positive educational outcomes than schools which emphasize individual competition and grades.

(4) Monocultural, Anglocentric Programs are traditional in American public schools and derive from a long history in which the public schools were viewed as a primary mechanism for socializing immigrant and lower class children to conform to the expectations of a society dominated by Anglo-American institutions and values (Karier, 1973; Katz, 1971).

The first statute passed by the California legislature governing the public schools required that all instruction be in English, a stipulation which has remained unchanged for over a century. Until recently, it was common practice for Mexican-American students to be reprimanded for speaking Spanish on school grounds in California schools and this practice still continues in some areas. According to a recent survey by the Civil Rights Commission (1972) the use of Spanish is discouraged in 30% of the elementary school classes in Arizona. Comparable percentages are 13% in California, 16% in Colorado, 30% in New Mexico, and 66% in Texas. When the Commission asked both elementary and secondary school principals if their schools offered any special Mexican-American "units" in social studies, only California showed better than 50% positive response. Only 4.3% of the Southwest's elementary schools and 7.3% of the secondary schools include Mexican-American History in their curriculum (p.31).

The omission of Black history and the achievements of other American minorities from the texts used in the schools is now generally recognized as a violation of cultural democracy in a pluralistic society and there is some movement, especially in desegregated schools, to introduce multi-cultural materials into the regular school program. However, the effects of such programs have not been clearly documented.

(5) Greater Power for Anglo-American Parents vs Equal Status and Power for Parents of All Groups is a dimension of the school learning environment which is seldom analyzed systematically. However, within a status equalization model, it is clear that the relationships between parents and the school is critical in developing the role models for equal status interaction for the students in the school. As indicated

earlier, Lohman (1972) found that Black role models were effective in reducing interracial, interaction disability for Black students.

(6) Greater Status and Power for Anglo-American Staff vs Equal Status and Power for Staff of all Ethnic Groups. The typical desegregated school in a earler study by the author had fewer minority teachers than majority teachers. In our 1972 sample, the average elementary school staff had 2% Mexican-American teachers and 12% Black teachers. Typically, administrators were white males. Para-professionals, cafeteria workers, and custodians were mainly Mexican-American and Black. Thus, the child in the desegregated school is presented with adult role models in the school which clearly indicate that Anglo-Americans are higher status than Blacks or Mexican-American because the Anglo-Americans have better jobs and more authority. Incidentally, children also learn that males are higher status than females.

Entwisle and Webster (1973, 1974) report a series of studies of the status characteristics of adults and children and their affect on the ability of the adult to raise a child's expectation of his own performance at school-like tasks. These studies involved hundreds of children in both segregated and desegregated settings. They found a same-race effect in which children perform better, faster, and more effectively when the adult administering reinforcement was of the same race as their own. The implication of these studies for multiracial teaching staffs in multiethnic schools is obvious.

As reported earlier, Cohen and Roper (1972) concluded that the presence of adult role models exemplifying a balance in power and authority was a significant factor in eliminating interracial interaction disability in the experimental summer school. Katz (1968) reviewed literature which indicated that Black persons feel greater stress

when the test administrator is a white and perform less well than with a Black test administrator. We hypothesize that greater power and prestige for Anglo educators decrease the self esteem and confidence of minority students, and increase minority student anxiety. Anglo dominance results in decreased minority academic achievement, negative stereotyping of minority ethnic groups, and rejection of identity with own ethnic group by minority students.

(7) Greater Burden of Distance on Minority Children vs Equal Burden of Distance for Students of all Groups refers to a relatively common practice in school desegregation--busing minority children to predominantly Anglo Schools while permitting Anglo children to remain in their own neighborhood school. This practice results from one-way busing programs. The result is that minority children are placed in the role of the "outsider" who comes into the neighborhood during school hours but does not participate in after school activities or neighborhood activities. It is not uncommon for teachers and students to refer to the "bused students" as a special category of children. Teachers speak of "our" children, meaning the children from the neighborhood, and the "bused" children.

In those situations in which there is cross-busing, children of all ethnic/racial groups share the burden of being the "outsider" in a school and being "bused" is less likely to be stigmatizing.

We did not find any research literature addressing this particular issue. However, our own observations of interactions in desegregated schools have lead us to hypothesize that it may be a relevant dimension in producing inequalities of status for minority children in some school-communities. Therefore, we hypothesize that greater transportation and distance burden on minority students decreases their participation in

school activities decreasing cross-ethnic friendships resulting in negative stereotyping of other ethnic groups by both minority and majority students.

(8) More Resources to Meet the Needs of Anglo-American Students vs Equal Resources to Meet the Needs of All Groups. Although most public schools have music teachers, art teachers, speech therapists, and a wide variety of "special" resources to provide services for Anglo-American students, it is only recently that schools have begun to develop the kinds of programs and resources required to meet the specific needs of minority children. For example, in 1970 there were only 131 bilingual programs in American public schools to serve the entire Spanish-speaking population (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1972).

We hypothesize that there will be a direct relationship between the presence of resources and programs designed to meet the needs of minority students and the academic achievement of minority students. We also hypothesize that there will be an indirect effect on academic achievement through decreasing the anxiety of minority students and increasing their confidence.

(9) Normative Structure Favors Anglo-American Students vs Normative Structure which Deals Equally With Students of All Groups is the dimension which addresses directly the issue of whether a school has both formal and informal norms which support equal status contacts among students, parents, and teachers of all ethnic/racial groups. Allport (1954) stated that equal status contact was enhanced "if this contact is sanctioned by institutional support, i.e., by law, custom, or local atmosphere." Cohen and Roper (1972) reported that explicit norms supporting equal status contacts were a significant aspect of the summer program which eliminated interracial interaction disability.

In our study of desegregation in the Riverside Public Schools, we found that a principal who does not administer an even handed justice and favors either minority or majority students tends to destroy the normative structure of the school and is likely to precipitate inter-ethnic hostilities. (Mercer, 1968).

We hypothesize that school normative structure which favors Anglo-American students and does not support interracial equality lowers minority self esteem, minority reflected self, and minority confidence; raises minority anxiety levels; decreases cross-ethnic friendships. An unequal normative structure results in lower minority academic achievement, negative stereotyping of other ethnic groups by both minority and majority students.

(10) Equal Participation in Extra-curricular Activities by Students of All Ethnic/racial Groups is the final dimension of status equalization in the model. A number of studies have found a correlation between participation in extra-curricular activities and drop outs. Dillon (1949) in a study of 798 drop outs found that 73 percent had never participated, only 2 percent had been involved in more than two activities.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in a survey of five southwestern states (1971) found that Mexican-American students do not reach their proportionate rate of participation in extra-curricular activities. Even when they comprise the majority enrollment, they lag behind Anglo students. The same holds true for schools in which Mexican-American students are a minority. In these latter schools, the representation is lowest in those activities having the greater prestige and influence.

We hypothesize that lower minority participation in the extra-curricular program of the school decreases cross-ethnic friendship

resulting in lower minority academic achievement and negative stereotyping of other ethnic groups by both minority and majority students.

Summary and Conclusion

Public schools presently reproduce in microcosm the unequal status relationships among students, staff, and parents of differing ethnic/racial groups in the macrocosm of the larger society. We theorize that unequal status relationships replicated in the school socialize children of differing racial/ethnic origins for unequal adult statuses and are correlated with observed unequal educational and mental health outcomes for students of differing racial/ethnic groups. We have identified ten institutional processes which we hypothesize are central to producing unequal status. These ten processes are conceptualized in a series of "ideal" types as bi-polar dimensions along which individual schools can be measured and placed.

We hypothesize that these ten institutional processes are additive. We hypothesize that those schools in which a greater number of these processes are operating at a higher level of intensity to equalize status and participation for all ethnic/racial groups will produce significantly more positive educational and mental health outcomes for students of all ethnic/racial groups.

We believe that the study of institutional processes which operate in public education to produce unequal status may provide some of the insights necessary to improving intergroup relations and avoid many of the methodological and conceptional problems encountered in the study of such psychological constructs as "stereotyping" and "prejudice".

References

Allport, Gordon W. The nature of prejudice. New York: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1954.

Behavior Today. Ziff-Davis Publishing Company, New York, Vol.6, No. 45, December 8, 1975.

Berger, Joseph, Cohen, Bernard P. & Zelditch, Jr. Status characteristics and social interaction. American Sociological Review, 37 (June 1972), 241-255.

Cohen, E. G., Lohman, M., Hall, K., Lucero, D. & Roper, S. Expectation training I: Altering the effects of a racial status characteristic. Technical Report No. 1, Stanford, California: School of Education, Stanford University, 1970.

Cohen, E. G. Interracial interaction disability. Human Relations, 25, 1972, 9-24.

Cohen, E. G. & Roper, Susan S. Modification of interracial interaction disability: An application of status characteristic theory. American Sociological Review, Vol. 37, No. 6,(December 1972) 643-657.

Cohen, E. G. Modifying the effects of social structure. American Behavioral Scientist, (July-August 1973).

Dillon, Harold J. Early school leavers: A major educational problem. National Child Labor Committee Publication No. 401, New York, 1949.

Entwisle, Doris R. & Webster, Murray, Jr. Expectations in mixed racial groups. Sociology of Education, (Summer 1974), 301-318.

Entwisle, Doris R. & Webster, Murray, Jr. Status factors in expectation raising. Sociology of Education, (Winter 1973), 115-126.

Freese, L. & Cohen, E. Eliminating the effects of a status characteristic. Technical Report No. 45, Stanford California: Laboratory for Social Research, Stanford University, 1972.

Gilbert, G. M. Stereotype persistence and change among college students. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1951, 46, 245-254.

Glock, Charles Y., Wuthnow, R., Piliavin, J. A. & Spencer, Metta. Adolescent Prejudice. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1975.

Karlins, M., Coffman, T. L. & Walters, G. On the fading of social stereotypes: Studies in three generations of college students. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1969, 13, 1-6.

Karier, Clarence J., Violas, Paul & Spring, Noel. Roots of crisis: American education in the twentieth century. Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1973.

Katz, D. & Braly, K. W. Racial stereotypes of one hundred college students. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1935, 30, 175-193.

Katz, Irwin, Goldston, Judith & Benjamin, L. Behavior and productivity in bi-racial work gtoups. Human Relations, 1958, 11, 123-141.

Katz, Irwin & Cohen, M. The effects of training Negroes upon cooperative problem solving in bi-racial teams. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1962, Vol. 64, 319-325.

Katz, Irwin. Desegregation or integration in public schools: The policy implications of research. Integrated Education, Vol. 5, 1967-1968.

Katz, Michael B. Class, bureaucracy and schools: The illusion of educational change in America. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971.

Lippman, Walter. Public opinion. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Javanovich, 1922.

Mercer, J. R. Issues and dilemmas in school desegregation: A case study. Proceedings of the Western Regional Conference on Testing, Educational Testing Service, 1968.

Mercer, J. R. Sociocultural factors in labeling mental retardates. Peabody Journal of Education, 48, (April 1971), 188-203.

Mercer, J. R. Labeling the mentally retarded. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973a.

Mercer, J. R. & Brown W. C. Racial differences in IQ: Fact or artifact? C. Senna, (Ed.), The fallacy of I.Q. New York: The Third Press, 1973b.

Roper, Susan R. Race and assertive classroom behavior. Integrated Education, Vol. X, No. 5, (September-October 1972) 24-31.

United States Commission on Civil Rights, The unfinished education: outcomes for minorities in the five southwestern states. Mexican-American Education Series. Report II, October, 1971.

United States Commission on Civil Rights. The excluded student: educational practices affecting Mexican-Americans in the southwest, 1972.

University Bulletin. Berkeley, California, Volume 24, No. 11, (December 15, 1975) 52.

UC Clip Sheet: A weekly newspaper published by the University of California. Berkeley, California, Vol. 51, No. 18, (November 25, 1975).

Vinacke, W. Edgar. Stereotypes as social concepts. Journal of Social Psychology , 1957, 46, 229.

Webster's New World Dictionary, College Edition. Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1964.